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PUSH FOR FULL AND COMPLETE PARTICIPATION

The Agreement-in-principle was one of the most closely guarded secrets in Quebec. At this point it's difficult to discern everything it could mean for the Cree. Upon reading it, I will say I have reservations about the deal, especially because of the Rupert River diversion, among other issues.

But the crux of the matter for me is the idea that the chiefs can sign on our behalf without a vote or some other mechanism whereby the Cree people as a whole will manifest their will.

Ted Moses in his interview (page 10) said he would have no problem with a referendum but seemed to waffle on whether there would be one or not. He has stated there would be a consultation process but in reality that means almost nothing. It means he will be talking to people and taking a few questions. It doesn't address whether or not a mandate by the people is given to sign the deal.

The reason I bring this up is someone in the office mentioned that a chief had said they could sign on the people's behalf because they were elected to do so. Yes there is signing authority granted to the position of a leader but it only morally extends so far.

Consider if Premier Landry, in his vision for an independent Quebec, just said, "You elected me and you knew I was a separatist so we are going to separate immediately." It didn't happen because he and his party knows the importance of a legitimate mandate to separate requires not only the political will but also the will of the people by way of

a referendum. In the meantime they still sign deals with the Federal Government on health and other issues.

In this way the Agreement-in-principle is something that requires more than just the political will of the chiefs. It requires the will of the Cree people as a whole. This is not a day-to-day or year-to-year Agreement, it is a three-to-four generation Agreement. It is one that will effectively kill another river and directly impact three communities. It is one that if not honoured in full will leave us more vulnerable than before. It promises great things, and like the JBNQA and other agreements we have entered into the past, has the potential for a positive impact.

But it cannot be a decision made by a few who will decide what is best for us. That mentality went out with the Indian Agent even though Indian Affairs Minister Robert Nault seems to be trying to revive it with his own round of consultation talks. If the Cree leadership has said his method of consultations concerning Native Governance is wrong then so is this Cree consultation process if there is no mechanism where the Cree people and not just the Cree leadership can vote on this issue. Anything else smacks of hypocrisy.

This is the message we have to pass on to our leaders: We deserve a say in determining the future of Eeyou Istchee just as much as they do. The Cree people are not content to be an audience to a decision on our future. We demand and require full participation in all such far-reaching matters.

Will Nicholls

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Money in Eeyou Istchee
Photographer: Richard Lawson
Cover Design: Richard Lawson



TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN THAT IS THE DEBATE

Before large hydroelectric dams, transmission lines and power stations were even heard of, we depended on the wood stove. The occasional house had electricity and even fewer had running water. Institutions or the Hudson Bay Company owned these houses and the best thing about knowing someone who lived in one was that you could take a shower or bath there. This was not that long ago and many children who grew up today never will use a match to start the wood stove and never will have to wield a pail to get washing and drinking water. It was those days when a young man with semi long hair and glasses arrived in our class at Fort George.

He said "You're the highest level class in all our communities and next year you will leave to finish your education in the south. You are our future leaders and I want to know what your future will look like." And then, to our amazement, he explained how the great river and others like it will be cut off and then massive areas of land flooded to provide electricity for southern cities and even the United States.

"I want to know what you can see in the future so that I can go and negotiate for these things so that you can have them when you return from your education." Wow, we thought, anything we want, eh? "Anything" he replied.

This was better than trigonometry or that blasted French language class with all the passés composés. We talked among ourselves and some decided that skidoos would be needed in the future because his dad wanted ont to go out when his dogs were sick. And then I realized that this young man who asked us all these astounding questions and nearly scared us with what would happen in our back yard, what he was actually asking us. He wasn't asking us for things, he was asking us to describe our future.

Free electricity and free education, I thought, running water included. New homes and roads with a vehicle in the front. An airline to call our own. As the results were read out loud to us, the young man seemed to be pleased with our requests for our future and commended

us for our imagination. That young man was Billy Diamond, who we never thought was going to be a big chief in the future.

Alas, these days, the young are left out and the leaders in that classroom seemed to have forgotten that fateful day, when the young were questioned and taken seriously for a change. Now, the backroom negotiations are commonplace with agreements to settle for this or that land, to sell this or that resource, to pay or not to pay for deficits and somehow, swallow any profits into some large hole.

All the things we imagined to be a part of our future have come true except for the free electricity and all the things we never thought would happen as a result of the James Bay Project have become a part of this present day - alcoholism and rampant drug abuse (however, this is a world wide phenomenon and we are not alone), the loss of wildlife and the selling of natural resources and our own wild game which we worked hard to harvest in exchange for money to buy bingo cards, the general disregard for our own children's future and the lack of respect for our elders. The television has replaced the great outdoors as entertainment and any bad weather system is greeted with our inability to step outside and enjoy the wonders of nature. Our legs seem to have grown wheels and an ignition switch or key only wears out our wrists, once capable of wielding an axe and splitting wood.

Perhaps our leaders should realize that the future is dependant on our children's capacity to live in a world that is real and not artificially comprised of cartoon characters that are indestructible.

Although this column is supposed to be funny or humorous, I still think it's ironic that for some sad strange reason, we have grown to accept a world that has grown and changed in leaps and bounds, a world that we often say is not real or could not happen to us, but wake up buddy, this is no dream or comedy. This is the real world where leaders sometimes come back to our communities to show their faces only to return to the glamorous communities of the south to wage battle with the enemy in a war that is now being waged in our own homes. I say, let's come back to the drawing board and ask the young what they want in their future and perhaps they will surprise us with a vision that we could never imagine.

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THE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE



In what is being described as a "new relationship" between the James Bay Cree and Quebec, the two signed a monumental Agreement In Principle in Quebec City Oct. 23 that redefines the rights and responsibilities of each partner. The agreement spans 50 years and promises eventual payments of at least \$3.5 billion. But it came as a surprise to all but those involved at the highest level.

The agreement is intended to forge a new relationship between the Cree and Quebec, with both parties entering into it on a nation-to-nation basis. Emphasis has been placed on a mutually beneficial plan to develop and modernize the James Bay territory. The scope of the agreement is vast, encompassing economic, environmental and legal concerns.

The development of natural resources, covers forestry, hydroelectricity, and mining. Provisions for forestry allow a tallyman to designate a portion of his territory, not exceeding 1% of his land, as a site of special interest to the Cree. Areas surrounding a site of special interest could have wildlife management protection for up to 25% of a trapline. Other protective measures include protective strips bordering waterways, mosaic cutting, and the development of a joint forestry board. The Ministry of National Resources will make a 350,000 cubic metre wood allocation to the Cree within the first five years.

Quebec will make an annual, tax-free financial contribution to the Crees for the duration of the agreement. The annual contribution is slated at \$23 million for 2002, \$46 million for 2003, and \$70 million for the following 48 years. The contribution will be indexed based on a formula intended to "reflect the evolution of activity in the James Bay territory in the hydroelectricity, forestry and mining sectors." The Crees will in turn assume Quebec's responsibilities under the James Bay Northern Quebec

Agreement in the area of economic and community development.

A Cree Development Corporation (CDC) will operate as an autonomous corporation under a majority Cree board of directors. The CDC will oversee and facilitate economic development, including job creation. Quebec has also promised to "instruct Hydro-Quebec to proceed with the signing of the agreement concerning employment for the Crees."

In return, the Crees consent to the Eastmain hydroelectric project and the diversion of the Rupert River. The Crees will also assume an equal share of the operating costs of the provincial environmental committees set out in the JBNQA. Crees will also take responsibility for the funding of local beneficiary registration services and of local environmental service for the term of the agreement.

One stipulation is that the legal entities receiving annual contributions from Quebec will have to submit "an annual report and audited financial statements, describing their activities and the use of the funds." Should these reports not be filed within six months of the close of the fiscal year ending March 31, "Quebec reserves the right to suspend subsequent payments, which however will be reinstated retroactively, without interest, as soon as these reports and financial statements have been submitted."

The agreement seeks the resolution of all outstanding legal disputes. The Crees are to discontinue legal actions against Quebec for failure to uphold commitments in the JBNQA, as well as those concerning natural resources. The Crees are to petition the court to declare the forestry case settled, assuming their own costs for the case. Cree claims for

SOPFEU will be halted and they will commence paying monies to SOPFEU April 1, 2002. Quebec will not appeal the Cree School Board case to the

Supreme Court of Canada. Both parties agree to establish a dispute resolution system to avoid legal proceedings in any further disputes. Legal action will only be taken as a last recourse.

Quebec was represented at the table by Premier Bernard Landry, Native Affairs Minister Guy Chevrette and Natural Resources Minister Jacques Brassard. The Grand Council of the Crees and the Cree Regional Authority acted on behalf of the Crees, represented by Grand Chief Ted Moses, Eastmain Chief Edward Gilpin and Waswanipi Chief Paul Gull.

The deal appears to have caught most people off guard. Negotiations were kept strictly confidential. The Agreement was first tabled at a Cree Regional Authority council board meeting five days before it was signed Oct. 23, according to Chief Gilpin.

Moses and Landry began discussing the settlement of court cases some time after the spring hunt, said Gilpin. "This (deal) is something that no other Aboriginal group in North America ever got from a government," said Gilpin, who also feels that the agreement provides adequate compensation for the Cree. "This will force the communities to come up with solid long-term plans," he added.

The Agreement was signed with the consensus of the nine community Chiefs, with the understanding that they must go back to their communities to hold discussions and get the consent of the people. Consultations will be held in the nine communities to determine what form this consent will take.

"Maybe we should go for a referendum," said Chief Gilpin. "I would support it if that's what all the communities want." The Eastmain leader plans to meet with as many segments of the community as possible, including elders, youth and trappers.

Both parties seek to sign a final version of the agreement by the end of the year. With so much at stake, however, there has been concern expressed over whether or not this is a reasonable time frame.

"Two months is a very short time" to decide, Youth Grand Chief Ashley Iserhoff told *The Nation*. "A lot of our people are still out in the bush and can't come to the meetings that are taking place."

But Grand Chief Moses fears delay will mean the agreement gets bogged down. "We're not rushing," he said. "It's the end of December and that's the time we feel we need to conclude it. The longer we talk the more time there is for circumstances to go beyond your control."

Brian Zelnicker

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SOMETHING FISHY IN OUJE-BOUGOUMOU

Residents of Ouje-Bougoumou have just learned that they've been consuming poisoned fish for at least two years. The community received a warning from the Quebec government that children under six and women who are pregnant or trying to get pregnant should stop eating the fish from two local lakes due to contamination. The advisory came on Oct. 16, two years after the provincial government first detected the contaminants.

Fish contaminated with mercury were discovered in Lac Chibougamau and Lac aux Dores in 1999. "The government has responsibilities," said Joseph Shecapio-Blacksmith, the local environment administrator for Ouje-Bougoumou. "My question is how come they didn't tell us when it's their job?" Shecapio-Blacksmith says tallymen have been worried about possible contamination in the region since mining began in the 1950's.

Paul Wertman, an adviser to the Cree, said the priority now is to uncover the extent of accumulated heavy metal toxins in the community. Residents of Ouje-Bougoumou will have to be tested and a detoxification program established. An environmental cleanup must be initiated and heavy metal contaminant dumping has to stop. Depending on the type of contaminant to be looked for, residents will be tested through the analysis of head hair, blood, and urine samples.

Current areas of concern are Lac Chibougamau, Lac aux Dores, Lac Obatogamau and the Neminiche River, but the contamination problem might surface in other areas of the James Bay region. "A lot of this stuff migrates," said Wertman, in reference to the contaminants, "it's possible that it has migrated through the James Bay basin." The water-borne toxins can be carried through streams and rivers and thus be distributed into the lake system. Any area where there is mining activity should be investigated as well.

While it is not yet known if any deaths or illnesses are directly connected to the contamination,

there are suspicious deaths over the past few years and cases of cancer that might be related.

"The gravity of the situation is enormous," said American researcher Christopher Covel, who has been conducting a study with Dr. Roger Masters on behalf of the Cree. "This is no small job to clean this up, this didn't happen overnight," Covel added. The New Hampshire-based researcher pointed out that the government has tested for mercury, but tests are specific and you only find what you are looking for. As well as mercury, Covel and Masters have discovered significant levels of cyanide, arsenic, cadmium, chromium, zinc, copper, and selenium, a toxic metal that is known to affect the reproduction of aquatic life.

While some of the metals are known to occur naturally, the levels found in the study indicate that these are not normal deposits. Asked whether this was directly connected to mining, Covel replied, "In my opinion, absolutely. Mercury might have other sources, but as far as the other metals go, it's mining." Covel said that the detection of cyanide is linked directly to mining since it does not occur naturally and is used to process gold.

The Quebec government had originally discounted the findings of the Americans as being unreliable, but now accept the results as valid. In an article published in the Montreal Gazette, Environment Minister Andre Boisclair was quoted as saying "I'm not sure the data they have gathered is as scientific as it should be." The Minister was later quoted saying "the study confirms what we knew already." This change of heart came after a meeting with advisers and there has been speculation that Boisclair was instructed to act in the best interests of the Agreement in Principle.

Eastmain: After The Shooting

The community of Eastmain continues the healing process in the wake of a shooting incident that saw the SWAT team summoned to help bring in two boys aged 10 and 11. The boys, who shot at other youths and police officers before taking flight in a stolen canoe, have undergone psychiatric evaluations. The assessment is that they will both need further evaluation before being allowed to return to the community. One boy has been sent to Mistissini, while the other has been sent to Chisasibi, according to Chief Edward Gilpin.

Meetings have been held between public security officers and officials from the Wabannutao School. While the school, with a student population of 190, was only closed for one day following the incident, the after-effects have been traumatic for students and staff members alike. The possibility exists that the boys might be allowed to return to the school after they have been fully evaluated. Some students have said that they won't go to the school if the two boys are allowed back.

One official at the school, who wished to remain anonymous, felt that it would be some time yet before things return to normal. The official said that a school psychologist is being brought in to talk to the students. Other steps being taken involve trying to get a guidance counselor and elders to help the traumatized students. Chief Gilpin, emphasizing his stand on more responsible gun safety, spoke of the need to make sure all residents have proper, secure cases in which to store guns and ammunition. Asked what measures can be taken in terms of legal responsibility, Chief Gilpin suggested that the Band would have to formulate with a lawyer on how to re-draft a by-law. The complicated question of jurisdiction and the criminal code requires closer examination.

by Brian Zelnicker



CREE CALL FOR DEMOCRACY IN EEYOU ISTCHEE

Eeyou Istchee - October 26, 2001

We the Cree Youth, joined by concerned beneficiaries of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, take strong umbrage to the recent signing of an Agreement in Principle that paves the way for hydroelectric development and the loss of Cree rights on our traditional lands.

The process whereby this Agreement in Principle and ratification of it is done is contrary to the laws and customs of our people. The chosen process neither respects the rights of the generations to be affected by this Agreement, nor does it allow for the Cree people to have a sufficient period where a traditional form of dialogue may be had when considering a decision of this magnitude. It does not give due respect to the interests and birthright of the generations that will be affected by this proposed agreement.

We the Cree Youth will be the generation most affected by this proposed arrangement that impacts our culture, customs, traditions and beliefs by taking from us controls over our lands and resources. We have neither been consulted nor contemplated in the process whereby this Agreement in Principle was reached, nor have the parties to the agreement taken serious consideration of their obligation to protect the land, trees, plants, wildlife and waters for the next generation of Crees to come – as has been our tradition for generations long before the time of Contact. We hold this obligation as sacred today as it was held by the generations of Crees that have inhabited our traditional lands before us.

We further believe the imposition of a December deadline for completion of discussions and signing of the final agreement does an injustice to us by not allowing full and transparent deliberations on this monumental decision. With such a short time schedule, the words spoken at the public meetings in our communities are political and bear promises of trust, not what is really written in the Agreement in Principle. There are implications with relying on oral commitments and assurances that are not written, as this agreement will outlive many political regimes on both sides in its fifty-year span. What is clear to us is that our rights are clearly diminished and we do not have a veto power

over resource developments that could be destructive to our environment, culture, water or food supplies.

The scope of the Agreement in Principle is broad, with ambiguities as to resource sharing. It forfeits significant past government obligations in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement and the 1995 Memorandum of Understanding, which remained largely unfulfilled. The costs of these forfeitures have not been presented to us but definitely take a good portion of the monies allocated in this proposed agreement. There are no guarantees the payments will continue for the duration of the proposed agreement if we initiate any actions to protect our rights or culture, but there is a provision that all monetary expenditures on our part are to be monitored and the government reserves the right to withhold subsequent payments.

We are representative of Crees that will most directly be impacted by the signing of an agreement of this nature and call upon the Cree people to allow us the opportunity to participate in a traditional, meaningful and more complete way in the deliberations, consultations and development of an agreement that will diminish our rights as Indigenous Peoples and most certainly affect our culture, our relationship with the land, and will result in the introduction of poisons and toxins like mercury to our water and traditional food stock and impact our identity as Cree people. We require more time to explore the implications and calculate the true costs and benefits of what is being proposed. We call for a moratorium to be placed upon further negotiations or the implementation of this Agreement in Principle so that we may participate and alleviate our concerns over the issues that we have raised above. In a decision that will ultimately determine our future and the exploitation of our traditional lands, we evoke our inherent rights that are entrenched in our traditions, customs, beliefs, language and culture. We ask to be treated in a manner of respect, love and honour – virtues and values we believe to be integrally linked to our identity as Cree.

For further information, please contact:

Youth Grand Chief Ashley S. Iserhoff
418-923-3163

What's In It For The PQ?

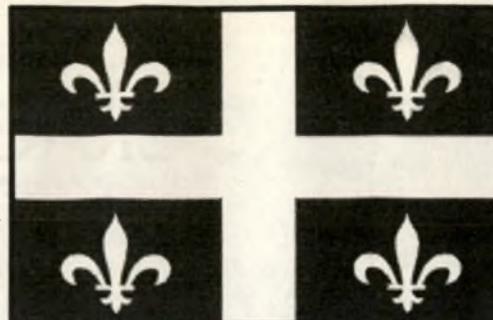
by Brian Zelnicker

Who has figured out all the ins and outs of the Agreement in Principle signed between the Cree and the Quebec government last week? If you haven't worked out all the angles yet don't be ashamed, you're not alone. There are people out there who will tell you that this deal is a marriage made in heaven. There are others who will be quick to point out that the agreement is full of the kind of good intentions that help pave roads to hell. Somewhere in between lies the truth.

The issues are far-reaching and touch on every aspect of Cree life. There are legal matters, financial considerations, and environmental factors. Though there are those who seek to push this through in record time, the truth is that it might take years to truly realize what tangible effects such an agreement will have upon the James Bay Cree of northern Quebec. It might help shed light on the agreement to try and understand the motivations of the Quebec government. Why are they so eager to put \$3.5 billion on the line? What do they gain by suddenly becoming fast friends with the Cree? It's kind of like buying a used car. As eager as you might be to get your hands on the wheel, you have to remember that there must be some reason why the other guy is so eager to sell.

For one thing, Quebec gains recognition as a nation from the Cree. It's right there at the top of the agreement in black and white: "Whereas the parties wish to enter into a nation-to-nation agreement . . ." Should any doubt linger as to the use of the word 'nation', just skip ahead to the beginning of section one, dealing with context, where it is written that, "Both the Cree Nation and the Quebec Nation agree to place emphasis in their relations on those aspects that unite them as well as on their common desire to continue the development of Northern Quebec and the self-fulfillment of the Cree nation."

Does anyone remember the referendum the Cree held following the last one held by the PQ? To anyone fearing Quebec's separation from the rest of Canada (not to mention the kind of self-righteous flag-waving and historical revisionism that comes with it), the Cree were seen as a beacon of reason. If Quebec was to push forward in its surge



toward sovereignty based on a unique linguistic and cultural history here dating back some 450 years, then how strong an argument would the Cree have had for sovereignty with a unique cultural and linguistic history going back thousands of years? If you think it is significant that the PQ is respecting the Cree as a nation, think again. What is significant here is that the Cree are now respecting Quebec as a nation.

This deal will reap huge political benefits for Premier Bernard Landry. Landry, who inherited his post when Lucien Bouchard stepped aside, will have to win an election someday soon and has yet to leave his indelible mark on the province. Should the deal go through, it will stand as a monumental achievement for Landry and could help him in his bid to remain in power and regain some lost momentum for the PQ who have not been the same since Lucien Bouchard resigned in the wake of racist comments made by party hardliner Yves Michaud.

Hydro development has always been on the front burner for the provincial government. Successful Cree opposition has been a constant stumbling block to the full exploitation of Quebec's natural resources. It is no secret to anyone that Hydro-Quebec is one of the brightest jewels in the crown for an economically viable independent Quebec. To forget the separatist mandate of the current government would be to ignore the obvious. Hydro development will allow the PQ to create thousands of jobs, to redirect the Rupert River and to ultimately fortify the government's plans. The political gains from such a project will be enormous. Landry will be able to look voters square in the face and say that he has managed to secure a deal that will bolster the economic aspirations of Quebec. He will have solved issues of employment, development, and Native relations in one fell swoop.

COMMENTARY

The Cree have long been a thorn in the paw of PQ political ambitions. Landry will be seen as Androcles, the man who managed to remove the ever-prickly thorn from the paw. The lion will be free to roam at will. The deal, in effect, creates a clean slate for the PQ in its dealings with the Cree. Old court cases will be cleared off the books, old disputes will be signed away, old injustices will magically be erased, and history between the Cree and Quebec will start fresh from the year 2002. It is imagined that the plan will also go some way to further the distance between Quebec and Ottawa as the feds have been left out of the starting line-up on this one.

With the allegations of racism that the PQ has endured, especially since the Michaud episode, a new deal with the Cree will be a public relations coup. The Quebec government will benefit from a new reputation for being tolerant, respectful and progressive, a far cry from the old image of a government that fails to respect the rights of its Native population. At a time when Native politics are ablaze from coast to coast (Burnt Church, Ipperwash, Barriere Lake), it would be quite an achievement for Quebec to settle its disputes with the Cree with a stroke of the pen.

Do You Have An Opinion?

The Nation wants to know what you think of the Agreement in Principle. This is one of the most important decisions of our generation and your voice deserves to be heard.

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About that deal.....

-WILLIAM NICHOLLS-

No one can deny it has been a hectic past two weeks with the recent announcement of the Agreement-in-Principle between the Crees and the Quebec Government. Some people have been crying savior while others say sell-out. No matter what you think it is a historic occasion that requires a lot of thinking by Crees on whether or not to accept the deal. In this issue we asked four Crees to talk about the deal; Grand Chief Ted Moses, Former Grand Chief Billy Diamond, National Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come and youth Grand Chief Ashley Iseroff. Hopefully some of your questions will be answered. The next issue will carry an in depth analysis of what it means to the Crees: potential benefits and potential consequences.

Grand Chief Ted Moses

The Nation: Why would you say this agreement is good for the Crees?

Grand Chief Ted Moses: I would say this is good for the Crees because it resolves all past disputes which now have gone and were about to be heard by the courts. You have to use your own resources to fight and the governments haven't made a move to resolve them. It's resolving past issues. There are some fundamental gains like you get to participate in resources being extracted from Eeyou Istchee. We have the opportunity to participate in the development of the territory, not just in our communities. We can participate in partnership with Quebec companies and with each other. We would have the resources to do that. We can develop at own pace without interference from Quebec, without asking Quebec how we should develop our economies and our communities. That is a big thing. We now have the autonomy to do that.

We still have to get give audit and financial reports. What's to stop them from saying we're not giving you money because you're not spending it the way you should?

Well, like most of us whether or not we have an agreement we have to spend our money wisely. I think that's a principle that applies to the Crees. We've gotten used to in the past 25 years of submitting financial statements to the governments. We've demonstrated we can spend the money on what it has been intended for.

What do we gain out of this agreement?

We've gained the resources, which will allow us to develop at our own pace, which we don't have now. Anything you want to do you need money no matter what. No one can convince me that in this day of modernization you don't need money to go anywhere. I look at it as a tool to enable us to do all the things I mentioned previously.

What do we lose in the agreement?

I don't think we lose much. It would be safe to say we don't lose anything. We don't lose any of the Cree rights. The rights are maintained. The other provisions are maintained with the

exception of the economic and community development and this is just for the duration of the Agreement and then it will be reinstated. All we are saying is that instead of Quebec doing it we'll do it ourselves and use the resources to do that.

What about the Rupert's River?

Sure, there's a Rupert's River diversion. There will be one and it definitely means that parts of the river will be dried up in the case of Eastmain River. There will be some flooded traplines in Eastmain, Nemaska and Mistissini but the rest of the territory will be pretty much intact. Broadback and Nottaway will not be developed and we make no mention of Whapmagoostui but it's not slated for development.

What do you see Crees doing with the money we'll be getting?

We'll definitely begin to address immediate needs. That's what we'll have to do when we establish our own priorities. The Youth definitely need jobs. We'll have to look at innovative ways on



how we can do that. We will meet that objective using the resources we'll have. We have monies for infrastructure because that would be Quebec's contribution. We're not saying that Canada's obligations are finished here either but we could look at housing. We can put money where we want to focus and the needs arise. We have big needs in different areas that have to be addressed.

How did the Agreement come about?

It's a combination of many things, past efforts, the Cree campaigns and statements. The fact that we have close to 30 legal proceedings that have been filed. The fact that we are in court on forestry, which has been perceived as a threat. Campaigns in the states and Cree participation in international forums. It's a combination of the efforts of everyone in the past 20 to 25 years to implement the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The differences between the Crees and Quebec was getting wider and we live in the same province.

We showed we'd rather negotiate than litigate. We want results rather than an ongoing fight. My meetings with Premier Laundry talked about development, whether we consider ourselves a nation and my feelings about revenue sharing and partnership. Whether the Cree and Quebec can coexist came up. I think the events of September 11th played a role in showing

we live in a really small world. We cannot let our differences divide us forever.

When did you start negotiations?

Exploratory discussions started about six weeks ago to test the waters. The real negotiations started two weeks prior to me announcing it to the chiefs. It was at a very high level with the premier and myself. We each had another person to balance things out. It was a very small group where we agreed to respect certain rules and conditions. It started after I asked that Quebec appoint a negotiator at a high level directly under the Premier. A no nonsense type of negotiations. They saw we wanted to resolve forestry and Quebec wanted to develop the north. They saw that they could not go further with development with the way things stood. So after some reflection Quebec called the Cree negotiator and started some discussions. Things began to unfold and events began to happen very, very rapidly. At the political will the Premier and myself were the top negotiators. The fundamental principles were laid down by us and the day-to-day negotiations were done by a couple of people on each side.

What were the hardest part of the negotiations?

I think the hardest part was determining whether we could resolve these disputes. It was a question of political will and putting the past behind us. We cannot always relive that; let's go for something new and innovative that will be result oriented. This is opposed to an ongoing process that had very little results.

How's the Agreement good for Quebec?

It means we have to co-exist. We're permanent residents in Eeyou Istchee and we know the people of Quebec are not going to move. If we're going to co-exist we have to put aside our differences and stop fighting. We have to find ways to accommodate each other where both sides benefit. We didn't want a situation where it's one at the expense of the other because Aboriginal people throughout the world have been subject to marginalization, neglect and exclusion. I did not want to see that continue forever for the Crees so we had to do something.

Why the Secrecy?

That was part of the rules. We didn't want news to get out before we even concluded whether or not there was anything solid. For me to go back to my people with just a verbal offer wasn't acceptable. This is a news-breaking story and we could see where people might give it their own twist before anything concrete came out of it. We were concerned with hardliners in the Government of Canada who believe the Crees shouldn't get anything more. We were concerned with the reaction of the public as well as the opposition in the National Assembly. We were concerned with the response of the Federal Government as the third party to the JBNQA. They aren't a part of this deal. Rather than leave the doors open to people scuttling it by whatever means we opted to make the talks secret. If you want to get your work done and concluded then you have to make sure that you have the opportunity to do so.

How will "Cree consent" be given and what does it mean in your opinion?

Cree consent will come about as part of the final agreement in which the Cree people will

Have an opportunity to say yes or no. If they say no then there is no deal. If they say yes then I will have a mandate to sign the agreement. Then we'll have a final agreement with Quebec. So it's a question of allowing the people to answer that question.

Do you think the Cree Chiefs have the right to sign the deal?

Definitely. It's part of being a leader and we always have ambitions of bringing back something to our communities. To be able to tell them we are bringing this back for your benefit and we can do things with that. There's been so many meetings where we have come back empty handed.

We have responsibilities as a leader otherwise why are you chosen as a leader if you have to run back every time a decision is needed. Leaders are decision-makers.

Some Crees are calling for a referendum. Are you in favor of that?

I have no problem with that. We haven't discussed among ourselves in what form the decision will be made. That's something that will be decided on in the next few weeks. We hear people wanting a referendum. Some people have said all 13,000 and so odd people should vote on this but we have to be realistic. We have to think with our heads. Those people who are capable of that will have to draw a line. Consultation will be done. We are doing that already.

Would you be willing to put the same type of resources and effort that went into the Cree referendum during Quebec's secession referendum?

The Quebec referendum was a different issue, an emotional issue with big consequences. It's not the issue of the day. It's a non-starter. If we had that on the table we'd still be spinning our wheels. We will find ways. We're spending time in the communities and there will be consultations for the conclusion of the agreement and even after the agreement.

Do you think the agreement diminishes Cree rights in any way?

Definitely not. It does not affect the other provisions of the agreement. The land regime is still intact, the hunting fishing, trapping, the income security will still continue, the education, they are not affected with this. In fact Quebec says they will not take the CSB to the Supreme Court. That's a big concession. Health services will continue. They've agreed to negotiations for the improvement of health services. Environmental continues. Development will subject to the social and environmental section under the JBNQA. We gain certain things so rights have not been affected. Whatever rights we wanted to deal with in the





Assembly of First Nations Bulletin

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National Chief Matthew Coon Come Congratulates Ted Moses, Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees (Eeyou Istchee), and Quebec Premier Landry on Economic Development Agreement

Ottawa: Matthew Coon Come, after reviewing the Agreement between Grand Chief Moses and Premier Landry, congratulates the two parties on their historic agreement. "This agreement is historic because it is the first time that a province recognizes the interest of First Nations citizens in the development that has taken place and will take place on their traditional territories. The Canadian tradition has been to keep First Nations citizens on reserves without the means or incentives to become players in the larger economy. This agreement reverses that practice and raises the bar for economic development agreements with First Nations across Canada," he stated.

The Agreement in Principle signed October 23rd provides for the implementation of Quebec's obligations to the Crees under the economic development section of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Among other things it provides for at least \$70 million dollars per year for 50 years to be paid to the Crees, separate agreements with Hydro Quebec on remediation of mercury contamination and on Cree employment on the La Grande Hydroelectric Complex, modifications to the Quebec forestry regime, Cree consent to the Rupert-Eastmain Diversion Project and a new cooperative relationship with Quebec. The agreement implements and in no way detracts from the rights of Crees in respect to economic development. "When we fought the Nottaway, Broadback, Ruperts and Great Whale Projects in 1989 to 1995, we saved 8 rivers. The Cree people are now considering the Agreement and this reduced proposal for one diversion. The Cree people have until December 2001 to make their decision," stated the National Chief.

"This is not a model for aboriginal relations with Canada or with the provinces. It makes sense in the context of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. However, the principle of sharing in the revenues derived from resource development and of measures aimed at achieving employment equity with the non-aboriginal population must be praised as they are in line with the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Premier Landry must be congratulated for his vision of future relations with the Cree People. By this agreement Quebec demonstrates that it is in the forefront in Canada in the development of new economic relations with First Nations citizens," concluded National Chief Matthew Coon Come.

For additional information, contact Jean La Rose at (613) 241-6789, ext. 251 (jlarose@afn.ca) or by cell at (613) 795-9664.

court cases, well, we're going to put them aside for right now. If we need to argue them then we can take them off the shelf and argue them. So we're not giving up right or agreeing to extinguish any of them. We haven't released the government of Canada from its obligations. Even though we're withdrawing the court cases as far as Canada is concerned they still apply.

It enhances and reinforces Cree rights in the sense that you're viewed as a participant and as a partner rather than an adversary that is confined to your village.

There's a great level of trust involved in this. The JBNQA and MOU's of 95 and 98 were unimplemented as well as others. How do you reconcile this?

We've demonstrated political will to resolve our differences. The agreement in principle clearly demonstrates that. We don't have to be enemies necessarily all the time. You can establish new relationships and become friends. That's better for both sides.

Why the rush?

We're not rushing. It's the end of December and that's the time we feel we need to conclude it. The longer we talk the more time there is for circumstances to go beyond your control. There could be elections and nothing happens so you won't have a final agreement. A new government could mean no deal and no chance for another deal. We have to look at what is in front of us and ask what is in our best interests. We think we can do it.

"I won't sell the land for any price." That was one of your campaign quotes. What do you say to that?

Billy Diamond, when he was Grand Chief in 1974, quoted the late Martin Hunter: "This land is not for sale even for millions and millions of dollars." And we have the JBNQA. It is not to say we have sold the land and it is someone else's property that you cannot go on. We're going to be there in Eeyou Istchee and we are going to be there as partners. If people want to take advantage of tourism opportunities, then that will be possible. If people want to establish companies that will create jobs then that is possible. If you want to invest in an opportunity, then it's possible. You cannot do that if you sold the land and it is the private property of someone else.

You also said you wouldn't sign anything without consulting the people. The implications were that you would be a more open Cree government so some people are angry about that saying you weren't open. How do you feel about that?

We've been open. We've met in the Cree communities and the meetings have been open to the public. We have in camera sessions when we deem fit. People and entities can attend the meeting. I did not sign an agreement without consulting my people. I consulted the Cree chiefs. I satisfied myself of their complete support when all nine agreed at the council/board to adopt by way of resolution what I did. At that level that is the type of consultation you have to have. I satisfied my campaign promise as to that. It's the people who will give the chiefs and council the mandate who will in turn give me the mandate to sign. With that I have fulfilled my campaign promise.

Is there anything you want to add?

On a final note I would like to say it is an opportunity. As much as it is seen as an emotional issue, for me it was difficult, I have a trapline and this decision will affect my family. I thought about these issues and came to grips with myself. While I was out in the bush I convinced myself I now have to think with the

wisdom that God, the Creator gave me, not with my heart. I shouldn't let the emotions at the time supercede the wisdom that I have in regards to the vision I have for the future. I had to come to terms with some issues. I asked myself, "Are you ready and willing to resolve the disputes you have with Quebec even though there are certain things that will be extremely difficult to accept by certain people? Will you take the easy way out and continue to use Cree resources and fight and which may not benefit my people and deprive them of the right to develop and benefit and improve the quality of life for the whole Cree Nation." I've come to the conclusion with the wisdom I have that I'll take that bold step to resolve these disputes rather than continuing the fight. In the long run if people agree and support it they will find that it is a good decision, as opposed to saying no. I'd like people to think about that as much as it may hurt. Take a few days to reflect on it and arrive at an intelligent decision.



Youth Grand Chief Ashley Iserhoff

The Nation: What were your first thoughts when you heard an agreement had been struck?

Youth Grand Chief Ashley Iserhoff: I had mixed feelings right away. When you deal with Quebec, you know about all the unfulfilled obligations in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. You know they made a commitment there and 25 years past we get nothing out of over 300 unfulfilled obligations. They define this agreement as being a new relationship. Obviously there are going to be concerns because we fought so hard to get the things we were promised.

Were you surprised to learn these negotiations were taking place?

Yes, we were all surprised. Everyone was affected by what happened on the 11th of September, but I didn't think it would go to this extent. At first I thought maybe it was a minor side agreement on forestry, but it ended up being a global settlement.

There are several ambiguities and areas left to be negotiated. Do you fear people are being asked to make a judgment on the agreement with so many questions left unanswered?

The problem I have is people are giving a rosy picture to the agreement. People have to read the agreement in order to understand it. There a lot of things that we're giving up here in terms of how we deal with our land. It's so hard to comprehend that people would go ahead and get into discussions with Quebec. It makes me wonder: Are we giving up on so many things we fought for so hard for? And now we're being looked at from all over the world with mixed reactions. We made a lot of friends when we spoke against hydro development because of the mass destruction that would happen in our own backyards. Now, the Cree leadership gives its consent to a hydroelectric dam. Even the role and responsibilities of the tallyman; the tallymen were not even consulted before this agreement in principle was signed. The tallymen and many families are going to be greatly affected by these potential projects.



How does agreement affect your constituency among the Cree youth?

It's going to affect our generation and our future generations. We feel we have to speak on their behalf because if we don't, who will? Each time we speak to our elders they tell us, "You've got to protect your way of life." With the land, that's where you get your culture, your language and your strength. Things come out of the land, and now it's at stake. A lot of people enjoy hunting, fishing and trapping – and all that's at stake because of the potential for poisons entering the water system and the surrounding habitat. You've heard the story of Ouje-Bougamou two weeks ago in regard to the mining development there. Now there's a lot of toxins in their water. Quebec only admitted this after the signing of the agreement in principle. The question arises again: Can we trust them? How many more hidden things are there that we're not aware of? Why are cancer rates going so high in the communities? These are questions you have to raise.

Ted Moses says we can't roll back modernization and that we have to make our peace with Quebec. How do you respond?

That's a hard question. For me, we're dealing with a sovereignist government. They have an agenda to separate from Canada. The same government said a few years ago they would use all force against the Crees if we were to stand against

separatism back in 1995. And now we're agreeing to their terms? They say we have a new relationship. You wonder whether it is a real relationship.

Would you be in favour of continuing trying to protect Cree rights by means of the legal system?

That's another question for me, if we could live with that. The court cases could have gone on for years, we are told. We don't know when they would ever come to a judgment. But I think there should have been other means of negotiating.

Do you think Ted Moses had the democratic mandate to enter into these negotiations?

I remember a resolution that was passed in 2000 at the annual general assembly where Cree leaders were told not to surrender any rights. I believe somehow the rights of fishers and trappers are going to be affected by this. The right of going out to the land and going hunting and fishing is going to be greatly affected. It's going to be the devastating effects of the mining, the logging, mercury poisoning and whatever else comes with the development.

But wouldn't there at least be more jobs for people?

You have to analyze the true amounts that are committed. Quebec is handing down responsibilities that they were supposed to run. We have to fund, through that \$70 million, various regional organizations. I think it's yet to be determined how that will be divided among the communities. Our population will likely double over 25 years. Is \$70 million enough to create jobs? Well, how many, and where?

What are you telling people in your discussions of this? Do you say we should oppose this? Negotiate further? How do you approach it?

For me, there has to be more transparent discussions. Two months is a very short time. A lot of our people are still out in the bush and can't come to the meetings that are taking place right now. Even the students down south – they're greatly affected by it. I've gotten a number of calls from students going to school in the south and they're very concerned. One student said, "I feel betrayed. All the things we fought for and thinking that the river would be there for all time and now consent has been given to go ahead on the project." I don't know how greatly Mistissini Lake will be affected. I'm hearing rumours that the lake will rise up to six feet. Will that have an effect on the fish and the habitat around the lake? Definitely there will be. These are the questions we need to ask ourselves. Is it really a fair deal? I don't know how many billions they take out of Eeyou Istchee each year, but we're being told we'll get 1.75 per cent on an annual basis.

If you were to speak to Ted Moses about this, what would you tell him?

There's a lot of concern out there. We really need to discuss this. The question I have all the time is, how can 20 people decide on behalf of the Cree nation what the devastating effects 15 or 20 years down the road all this will have on people? Do you think this agreement is really going to help us? Or will the same thing happen as with the JBNOA? Quebec reserves the right to suspend funding if the audits are not done the way they want to see them. So there are a lot of questions.

Will you be pushing for a referendum?

I don't know. I'd have to listen to the people and hear what

their feelings on it are.

What are people telling you so far?

There are a lot of questions, especially from the young people. Twenty-five years ago, people weren't highly educated. Now we have a lot of young people who are highly educated. They know what questions to ask. A lot of them studied economics. A lot of them studied law. And a lot have studied political science. They have studied the structures of how governments operate. Now we have that knowledge. We have those youth who can ask questions and they're asking them right now. There are several questions that need to be answered. And nobody seems to be able to answer them yet.



National Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come

The Nation: I see that you are putting your support behind the Agreement. What do you like about it?

National Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come: I've been chief and the Grand Chief for most of those years and the Coon Come case that dealt with obligations of the federal and provincial governments, the forestry court cases and the court case we launched against the technical description of the La Grande project of 1975 where we said it required Cree consent and the projects couldn't go through. When we went to the communities and I was the one who explained the court cases on forestry, Great Whale and NBR, on the outstanding and unfulfilled obligations of the federal and provincial governments we told the people the reason we were going to court was because the governments felt they fulfilled their obligations and they didn't feel they needed to sit down with us and talk. Our strategy was to use the legal system so the courts would recognize the unfulfilled obligations of the governments. We knew the courts wouldn't say this is how much you should get but that it would have to be negotiated. All the cases were to say you needed Cree consent and involvement. That was the message. We needed to convey the message that we want a share of the resources extracted from Cree land. That's the background.

The Agreement in Principle, as outlined to me, shows that Grand Chief Ted Moses has taken the initiative and the timing was right. I must commend him for his efforts. The same with Premier Laundry for realizing that he has to involve the Crees. Certainly the Agreement from the outset provides some form of resource revenue sharing and it looks at employment

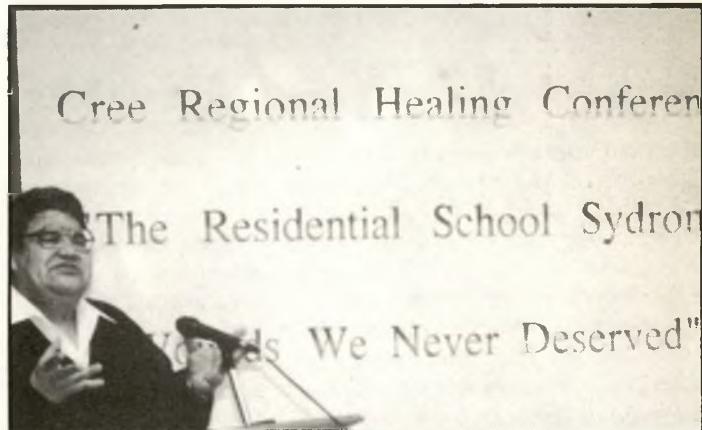
opportunities. It deals with issues we have all been talking about. That we want to participate in the economy. I remember a person told me and said one truckload of forestry logs is worth \$100,000 and not a penny goes to us. That told me they want a share in the resource extraction. I think some of the principles are there.

One of the greatest challenges for leaders is that they have to know when to fight and you have to know when to sign a deal. I think that Ted signed at the right time. Now it's up to the Cree people to give their decision on whether they will accept it or not.

All of us will have to assess it in terms of our previous involvement in previous projects. When I was involved between 1987 and 1995 in opposition to projects where they were going to flood eight rivers, now because of the Rupert's and Eastmain rivers, they are talking about maybe just one project. It is still subject to environmental impact assessment. We'll have an opportunity to look at resource development.

In my view it's like a hunter. He will go out and look for game. He will not come back and say I think I saw some caribou and maybe I should ask you. He will shoot it and ask his people to help him. He will say to the people this is what I got. He will say there are more out there, can you come and help me? So Ted has brought something and as a leader will say this is what I was able to get, now you decide.

As a leader you have to take a position, are you for this agreement or against it. As a leader Ted is certainly promoting it saying this is what I got and I agree in principle. It's the same journey in the past when negotiations were done. Then Grand Chief Billy Diamond, Philip Awashish and Ted Moses, they went and sat down with the government and came back and said this is what we have. They went through a process of consultations, information meetings and debates. Then the Cree People voted on whether or not to accept the JBNQA.



Former Grand Chief Billy Diamond

The Nation: Do you find this Agreement is good for the Crees?

Former Grand Chief Billy Diamond: This Agreement in Principle is unexpected. It came out of nowhere. What I like about the agreement is that it will continue with the implementation of the JBNQA. The difficulty I have with it is including the Eastmain and particularly the Rupert's River Diversion after all the Crees have done. There was the special Annual General Assembly in Waskaganish in June 2001. Now we're saying in that agreement that the Crees give consent to the Rupert's River Diversion. Giving up consent like that to me is very difficult. I have problems with the Rupert's River Diversion because we don't know what's going to happen to the river. The Rupert's River is our lifeline in Waskaganish. It is our heritage

river. It is our past; it was part of the fur trade route that connected us to our Cree cousins in Nemaska, Mistissini and these types of places. It was a river that we used to come together and now we are going to divert it. That's the hard part. We have to look at the agreement and study together to see what the consequences are.

What about the money?

The money was always there. It was hidden in the original JBNQA. What has been done in this case is to take the Quebec obligations and those obligations have been quantified. In this case the money is going to come sooner. Instead of waiting for implementation, court cases or arguing it will be sooner. In our past experience, as Crees, when money is involved and there are specific schedules, then the government has always been there with the cheque. So what we have to do is be much more specific. But it's only a 50-year agreement so the money will be



there for 50 years and you have to be careful because we are surrendering future obligations and we have to weigh the consequences of that. You are giving up future obligations for more than just this generation. The generation in the 51st year is the ones who are going to feel the impact. In my opinion the obligations won't be there. The lawyers say otherwise and say we'll go back to the JBNQA. They're taking the past and future obligations and quantifying them into dollars and receiving those dollars. Then the Crees will be implementing the obligations themselves. It will be a difference. The Crees will not be going to Quebec to complain anymore, they will be going to the Grand Council and the CRA. This worries me when you see the same people who are asking for the implementation will be at another level the people making the decision.

It's been said that this agreement is partly the result of past negotiators such as yourself. Do you see some of what you were working towards in it?

I finally got my hands on a signed copy and have been going through it and studying it. I see the agreement going back in time to 15 or 20 years. As far back as the La Grande Agreement in 1986, there are sections that previous negotiators have been involved in. There were previous negotiations on the Eastmain River but none of them included the Rupert's Diversion.

This is a global settlement and I feel there is a danger in that in the sense of negotiating. What happens if one party does not agree? Does that mean the agreement falls apart? It's important that in the next round that the communities start asking questions on how we will deal with that.

Another problem I have with the Agreement, and

this came out in Waskaganish, is the time frame. This is being done really fast for a such a legal and complicated agreement. To analyze and study it you need time. The agenda has been set and I wonder whose agenda we are following. Is it theirs or ours?

There have been comments from the communities about the secrecy surrounding the agreement. What do you think of it?

We asked questions in Waskaganish about who negotiated it and why now. I think that's why you see the hostility from the young people. The youth feel very betrayed by the Cree leadership. The sense of betrayal is showing up in their anger. I have never seen meetings like since the early 70's when the James Bay Project was announced and the information meetings after. These meetings were very emotionally charged.

The young people feel betrayed and excluded. That's why the question of secrecy has come up. But you have to understand that in negotiations, having meeting while you are negotiating there are certain things people will say in public and there are things you will not say in public, like specific details. Still when you are working on an agreement in principle someone should have told the people we are working on an agreement with the Premier of Quebec. That's why it shocked the people.

There's a level of trust involved considering Quebec's past record in upholding its end of the bargain. Do you think we can suddenly say fine, come on back, give us some money and whatnot, we trust you again?

I think that's why there is shock right now among the Cree people. In my community people are saying why and why now? What happened to change our position? After years of Quebec bashing and confrontation. There were speeches in New York, Geneva and why this sudden switch? What convinced the Cree leadership? These are things the Cree people want to know and have answers to. I think this requires dialogue at the community level. When you hear of something like this for the first time it's hard. It's going to take time for this to sink in. In the meantime people are going to want answers. I mean we been hammering away and hammering away and all of sudden we're going to stand with Quebec. I can understand wanting to develop a relationship and strategic alliance with Quebec. But what we have done in effect with this agreement in principle is to extend Quebec's jurisdiction by allowing them to proceed with the hydro development, forestry and with mining. We end up absorbing the legal costs of all our court cases with Quebec. These were cases in which we insisted our rights were in and Quebec should implement their obligations. These questions will have to be answered at the community level.

What do you see as Cree Consent being in this case? Do you see it as just the chiefs, a community-by-community vote or a referendum?

My version of Cree consent, is the consent to the Eastmain and Rupert's rivers diversion, is that it requires consent of the communities directly impacted. All the communities will be impacted by this I believe because the water is diverted and that particular consent should never have been given in the agreement. I said that in the meeting in Waskaganish that Cree consent has been given. You have in effect authorized Hydro-Quebec to go ahead. Our leadership disagrees with me on that. I said that in the Agreement it says Crees hereby consent. We have agreed to disagree on this point.

I don't think that an agreement of this magnitude should be where it's just the chiefs who decide. The people should have time to decide on it and determine if they are happy with it.

I am addressing this message to each and every Cree person.

A message from Ted Moses

Last week, an Agreement-in-principle was signed with the government of Quebec. The purpose of this Agreement-in-principle is to allow the Cree and Quebec to enter into a nation-to-nation agreement that will strengthen the political, economic and social relations between the parties. These relations are to be characterized by cooperation, partnership and mutual respect.

The relationship envisaged in the Agreement-in-principle remains based on the terms of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The Agreement-in-principle will strengthen the JBNQA by providing for greater autonomy and greater responsibility on the part of the Cree Nation for economic and community development. The Agreement-in-principle is specifically based on the principles of sustainable development, partnership and respect for our traditional way of life.

The Agreement-in-principle proposes a new common vision of the future, a new relationship with Quebec and the reinforcement of Cree rights over all of our traditional territories.

I strongly support this Agreement-in-principle. The Cree leadership, through the Grand Council of the Crees, has fully endorsed it. The National Chief is also strongly supportive. Numerous aboriginal leaders have contacted me to offer their support for this truly historic Agreement-in-principle.

The Agreement-in-principle is presently being submitted to the Cree people through community consultations. With the Cree Leaders I will be visiting all Cree communities in the next few days. With the support of the Cree communities, we will be in a position to proceed to the next step, which will entail negotiating the terms of a Final Agreement by the end of this year.

We signed the JBNQA in 1975. It was a monumental agreement. It set a foundation for future relations. However the JBNQA requires political will to implement and the lack of this has led to confrontation. This disagreement and frustration was particularly acute in the areas of community and economic development. We found ourselves arguing over wordings, jurisdictions, details and processes for years without achieving the

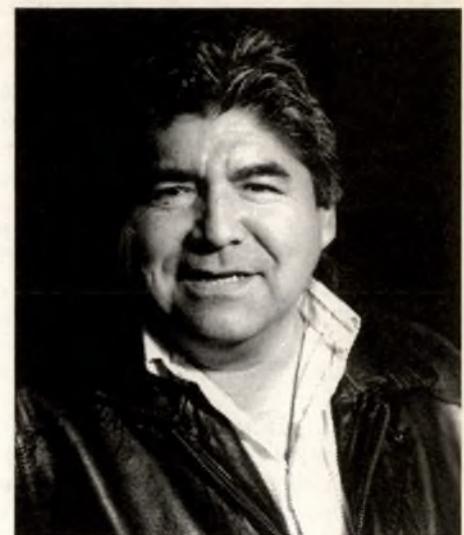
concrete results that the JBNQA envisioned. The Crees were essentially left out of community and economic development. Like for so many other aboriginal peoples, the governments were attempting to marginalize us from development activities and to restrict us to our category 1 lands. As time passed, our traditional territories were being developed without any serious effort to take into account our interests and our traditional way of life. The Cree leadership has been fighting for years to change this.

This new Agreement-in-principle provides for the recognition of our traditional and non-traditional interests over ALL of our traditional territories. As an example, the new adapted forestry measures provide for the taking into account of Cree traditional activities and a strong Cree voice over ALL the territory. Likewise, from now on, we will have a stake in the development activities that take place over ALL our traditional lands. We will have the means to participate in these developments should we so desire.

The striking features of this new Agreement-in-principle are both the clear recognition of the Cree as a Nation as well as the full recognition of our traditional and non-traditional interests in the whole of the territory. These aspects of the Agreement-in-principle are advances of historical proportions for the Cree Nation. This new Agreement-in-principle constitutes a strong and historic affirmation of Cree rights and, like the JBNQA, will raise the standards for aboriginal peoples everywhere in Canada.

This new agreement will provide the Crees with tools for facilitating economic and community development. It will allow us to decide our community priorities and facilitate our participation in the economy. Under this new Agreement, we will assume responsibility for our economic and community development. We will be accountable to ourselves and to future generations instead of Quebec being accountable to us for how it manages our affairs. This, in my opinion, is a true form of self-government.

Under the new Agreement-in-principle, we will assume for the next 50 years the



undertakings of Quebec relating to our community and economic development as set out under certain provisions of the JBNQA. We will receive from Quebec transfer payments in order for us to properly carry out these responsibilities in accordance with priorities and methods which we, the Cree, deem appropriate for our own development. These transfer payments will evolve in accordance with the evolution of the development of all natural resources, including the hydroelectric, forestry and mining sectors in our traditional territory. This is an historic turning point and a truly profound vision for the future.

We have been fighting with the governments of Quebec for years over the implementation of the Agreement. This has only too often come down to arguments over words and while we have argued in the courts, the people cannot get what they need to live. The agreement that we propose to negotiate from now to December is designed to solve these problems, at least with respect to Quebec. Rather than argue about words we will have funding to go ahead with our plans. We will be able to assist our trappers and hunters through concrete measures to allow them to pursue their traditional pursuits over the land and to continue our traditional way of life that is so crucial to our well-being. We will also be able to begin building the facilities in the Cree communities that



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we want to build. We will be able to strengthen our national governing structures and will be better equipped to defend our rights. We will be able to augment our heritage funds in order to ensure that future generations have the means to carry out their ambitions. We will have the financial and legal tools to become strong participants in the development of the whole of the territory.

The Agreement is structured in a simple and straightforward way. The first and second years we will receive \$23 million and then \$46 million and after that \$70 million each year for another 48 years. In future years this amount will increase as the value of the electricity, wood and minerals produced from our traditional territory increases. With this revenue, we will invest in projects and businesses to benefit the Cree people and to establish partnerships with others in the region and in Quebec. It will be up to us how we invest and spend this money. We will have to decide on our own priorities. The future impact of the money will depend on how wisely we invest it and on how well it is spent.

We will also assume some of the obligations of Quebec under section 28 of the JBNQA in regard to community and economic development for the next 50 years. The Agreement basically focuses on Section 28 of the JBNQA concerning

economic and community development and leaves most other sections of the JBNQA untouched. Thus Quebec will continue to fund for the Crees, pursuant to the provisions of the JBNQA, its share of the services and fixed assets stipulated in the JBNQA, including health care and social services, education services, income security programs, policing services, the administration of justice and various committees. All of this will continue. The funding that is provided under the Agreement-in-principle will be in addition to the funding provided by Quebec for these services.

We will turn the page on most of our claims against Quebec for past implementation of the JBNQA but we will reserve our right to enforce before the courts for the future both the JBNQA and the new agreement. Moreover, in relation to certain governance issues, to health and social services, to policing services and to justice related services, our court proceedings will be maintained. Quebec has agreed to set up negotiating tables in order to discuss addressing these needs through additional funding or new programs. We will suspend our court proceedings for three years in these matters in order to allow these new processes a opportunity to succeed.

In forestry, the Agreement-in-principle provides that the Quebec forestry regime will be adapted in a manner that allows better taking into account of the Cree way of life.

greater integration of concerns relating to sustainable development and participation of the Cree in the various forestry operations planning and management processes. At the local level, joint working groups will be established for each Cree community in order apply the new rules and resolve conflicts. The tallymen will be closely involved in designating conservation areas for up to 25% of each trapline. The forestry road network will be developed in cooperation with the tallymen. Strengthened rules related to the protection of the forest will apply. Clear cuts will be for the most part replaced by mosaic cutting by which for each block of cut, an equivalent adjacent block of forest must be preserved. These forestry rules will also evolve over time through the work and recommendations of a new Cree-Quebec Forestry Board which will be composed of an equal number of representatives of the Cree and of Quebec and whose president will be appointed by the Quebec cabinet in consultation with the Cree. This new Board will make proposals to improve the forestry rules and related legislation and will review the forest management plans prior to their approval.

In the area of hydroelectricity and mines, all new projects will continue to be subject to the applicable environmental legislation and to the environmental and social protection

regime set out in section 22 of the JBNQA. This section includes important guiding principles for ensuring the continuation of the traditional Cree way of life. The Quebec government will also facilitate and encourage agreements with the Cree in relation to remedial measures, employment and contracts for specific projects.

Our people have always been practical and used the land to make a living for their families. Moreover, we have always occupied the whole of Eeyou Istchee. It is only in the past few years that

our people are living in communities year-round. While we still hunt over the whole of Eeyou Istchee, we have not been able to fully share in the employment created by mining, forestry, hydroelectricity, tourism and construction. This we must change! We must continue to protect and enhance our traditional way of life. However, we must also enhance all our opportunities throughout the territory and obtain a fair share of all of the occupations made possible by development on our lands. This too is part of our birthright!

The most difficult part of this is the granting of Cree consent for the concept of a partial diversion of the Rupert River and the construction of a hydroelectric facility near Eastmain. My own hunting territory will be impacted by the construction of the Eastmain dam. I am fully and personally aware of the impacts of these projects. I wish to point out that though



Cree consent would be provided to the concept of these projects, this consent is not blind nor is it unconditional. These projects are not yet authorized and do not have any of the required government permits in order to proceed. These projects will still need to be subjected to full assessment and review under the environmental and social impact assessment processes set out under the JBNQA. In these processes, numerous alternatives and variants of the project will be studied and reviewed in close consultation with the concerned communities. The Crees will be full participants and these processes and will have a large voice in this matter. All applicable federal and provincial environmental legislation will continue to apply to these projects. All concerned governmental authorities will have to decide in light of all the information whether or not to finally authorize these projects, and if so at what terms and conditions. Should the projects meet all applicable environmental and social standards, then Hydro-Quebec will be obliged to assume the costs of all the remedial works required under the authorizations for these projects. Hydro-Quebec will also be obliged to respect its past proposals to the Cree relating to special remedial works and substantial employment and contracts relating to the projects.

While we have guarantees that there will be remedial works for the impacts of the projects should they eventually be authorized after full review and assessment, the real impact will be to our heritage and to our way of life. This is a spiritual connection that we have to this land and it is personal and important. We must remember that this is our birthright and we must use this in the way to benefit our families and our children. We must decide what is truly in the best interest of the Cree Nation. We must be guided by our hearts in this regard, but we must also be guided by our reason.



The funding flowing from the new Agreement-in-principle will impact all Crees. It will be up to us to ensure that the benefits are long-term and extend to all of our people, and to our children yet unborn. We have the responsibility to build our Nation and to work for the benefit of all of the Cree Nation. I believe that we will find ways to accomplish our goals through this new Agreement-in-principle, through the JBNQA and through our continued struggle for our rights. I have spent all

my adult life working for the recognition of the rights of aboriginal peoples in Quebec, in Canada and in the international arena. I will continue this work. This new Agreement-in-principle will facilitate this work by setting a new standard for the rights of aboriginal peoples.

I invite you to be a part of this important decision in our history. I believe that the final agreement that will be developed from the Agreement-in-Principle signed last week will be an historic opportunity and turning point for the Cree Nation.

Finally, some people might be concerned about what seems to be a short time for consultation on the agreement. We have an opportunity before us and our traditions tell us that we should seize opportunities before they escape us. Certainly we need to deliberate, but we must depend on our experience and wisdom. We must have the confidence to act with good judgment. We have been discussing these issues for years in our communities and before the courts. We have two months to discuss this decision while we reach a final agreement. We will be coming to your community, I encourage you to come to the meetings and to speak out. We need to make a decision that is the best one for the Cree People!

Ted Moses, Grand chief



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25 years of force-fed acculturation: the Crees of James Bay have achieved remarkable things

In 1971 when the James Bay Hydro project was announced by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, 6,000 Crees were hunting and trapping around the rivers running into James Bay, as they had been doing since time immemorial. Only a handful among them, the younger ones, had been to any kind of school; a couple had attended university, but none had graduated, and their lives were, in fact, so bounded still by the annual cycles of the seasons, that the people from the six villages had never even held a meeting to discuss their common concerns.

Their real leaders, if that term can be used, were a group of elders, unilingual Cree-speakers, deeply steeped in the mysteries of bush life, expert in their knowledge of animal and ecological behaviour, and above all imbued with the sense that human beings are participants in nature, not masters of it.

It would not be too much to say that most Canadians were scarcely aware that these people existed, for ever since Europeans arrived among them, their remarkable qualities had been denigrated, and their rights denied in the lands they had always occupied. The Cree lands were an immense wilderness, almost as big as Western Europe. One village of a few hundred people alone, Mistissini, used hunting territories of 100,000 square miles, as large as Britain.

For the most part, the Crees were in good shape. By trapping animals they had managed to adapt their subsistence existence in the forest to the encroaching western society. By an accident of history they had managed to preserve their language. But in the southern reaches of their lands, they were declining. Two villages had been closed, their people scattered along the few roads built by the newcomers. The familiar colonialist effects of unemployment, drunkenness, prostitution, had begun to make their appearance as whites moved into their lands and took them over for other, more productive uses.

Most of the older men and women, the guardians of Cree culture, could not communicate outside of their own language, and their values were totally different from those who came among them. Now they were confronted with a multibillion dollar industrial project, which, in the name of progress, aimed to treat their beloved land as a toy, to be gouged, scoured, manipulated and violated. When they heard about what was proposed, these people were at first incredulous, then deeply outraged.

If this new scheme was to be confronted, the job had to be undertaken by the handful of youngsters who could speak English and had a nodding acquaintance with southern society. The opposition began under the leadership of two young men in their twenties, Phillip Awashish and Billy Diamond, both the slightly acculturated sons of remarkable hunters. Before they had finished, these young men had led the Crees to court, where they won a famous (though temporary) victory against the Quebec government, culminating in the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975, which finally recognized that the Crees do have rights as residents of this country called Canada.

In the 25 years since then, the Crees have lived an almost unimaginable experience. In this short time they have been forced by the arrival among them of thousands of workers, roads, airports, huge industrial enterprises and the baggage these things trail with them, to undergo an acculturation that has normally occupied other societies for hundreds of years. They have been force-fed into Western values, whether they liked it or not.

Clinging to the values they learned from their extraordinary parents, the young leaders of the Crees have made a remarkable adaptation to their new realities. The values they learned in the bush have been their bedrock, and have stood them well. They have used money paid to them under the Agreement to refashion their villages, improve their living conditions, look after their health and education. Not everything has worked perfectly. For various

by Boyce Richardson
<http://www.magma.ca/~brich/>

reasons, their education has proven to lag behind that of the schools in the south, where most of their students need upgrading before they can join in the higher education to which they aspire. Nevertheless, bit by bit, they are getting there, producing more lawyers, teachers, doctors, nurses and others to fill the functions being forced on them.

One result of this acculturation process has been that their Cree society, in which money counted for little, if anything, has become monetarized. The handsome new houses have had to be paid for. To find the money, the Crees have needed jobs. So far these jobs have mostly been provided by the developing infrastructures inside their villages. As their population has outgrown the capacity of the damaged land to provide a living, they have begun to face a somewhat desperate future with possibly alarming consequences.

One thing the Crees can not have expected was to find that the governments with which they signed their 1975 accords should have proven to be so duplicitous, so reluctant to honor their agreements. Never mind, they dealt with that by returning time after time to the courts to hold them to the letter of what they signed. And in most cases, the Crees have won.

Still, in spite of everything, in spite of their brave last-ditch stand in defence of their rights, inexorably the Crees have been overwhelmed by the encroaching industrial machine. In their fight against this, the Crees have become famous across the continent for their defence of Nature, for their message that the land matters to everyone, for their warnings that — as elders such as Isalah Awashish and Job Bearskin and Samson Nehaccappo, and Abraham Weapinacappo warned them 25 years ago — “the money is really nothing. The land is the most important thing of all” or “the white man will always have the money, and will always want to have the land” or “I would rather think about the land and the children. What will they have when that land is destroyed? The money means nothing.”

These old leaders may never have been to school, but they had a far-sighted wisdom that is still precious to the Crees — and to the rest of us. The irony of all this is that as the young Cree leaders — Matthew Coon Come, Ted Moses, Matthew Mukash — have criss-crossed the continent with their messages and warnings to our society to moderate our appetites, to rekindle our respect and love of Nature, to cherish such a thing as a wild river, to reconsider our philosophical arrogance that human beings are the dominant species over all others — as they have brought us these messages we so desperately need as our technology hurtles us into ever more dreadful scenarios, so we are doing our utmost to kill off the essence of the Cree life from which they have drawn their wisdom.

Today, a few days after the Crees have reluctantly surrendered in their fight to preserve the wildness of the magnificent Rupert river, (speaking hopefully of the \$3.5 billion they may possibly get in exchange), we can honor their remarkable achievements of the last 25 years. A people who 25 years ago had scarcely emerged from the bush have stepped on to the world stage to take a leading role in defence of indigenous rights in Geneva and New York; a people who had hardly been to school 25 years ago, are graduating from our universities in greater numbers every year; a people who had not even had a political meeting 25 years ago, are running increasingly complex systems of government; a people to whom money was almost a foreign thing 25 years ago, are handling the millions of dollars needed to make their new systems run.

Their successful adaptation has been a tribute to the wisdom they inherited from their parents. One can only hope that their expressed confidence that this new deal with Quebec represents a turning point in their recent history, putting the bad times behind them, turns out to be justified.

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Things Are Looking Up

Xavier Kataquapit

Last night I was out with some friends of mine at three in the morning in anticipation of the annual Orionid meteor shower that takes place during the fall. I read about this celestial event on CBC's internet news website at www.cbc.ca. I discovered that the best time to view the meteor shower was at three o'clock in the morning on Sunday, October 21. This annual meteor shower is caused by the famed Halley's Comet. At this time of year our planet runs into a stream of debris, left behind by the comet.

This debris enters the earth's atmosphere and becomes what are known as shooting stars. The name of the meteor shower, Orionid, comes from the fact that this comet debris radiates from the constellation Orion.

I had anticipated this event for about a week and I was excited to head out under the stars to watch the meteors streak across the sky. I have always enjoyed looking up at the stars and learning about the different constellations and all the strange and wonderful things and events that make up our universe.

We sat out in the dark on lawn chairs in the back yard, bundled up in layers of warm clothes. We also had a pot of hot tea and cookies to snack on as we waited. We talked about the coming event and enjoyed the cold night air as we gazed at the starry sky waiting for the light show to begin. The cold, the outdoors at night and the company of friends reminded me of similar times I had spent with my family up north on the James Bay coast under the stars.

Out on the land and away from our home community of Attawapiskat, the night sky on a clear night can be spectacular. It is a more special sight on a moonless night when the stars are more visible. There are no lights to obscure the starry sky on the remote James Bay coast. There are also no buildings or houses to obscure a person's view out on the tundra and the flat landscape of the James Bay coast. Out on the land you can see for miles. On a perfect night when the stars are shining their brightest, I have felt as though I was hanging on to the edge of the earth as the planet hurtled through space.

It always felt good after a day of hunting out in my goose blind to be able to sit back in the wilderness and enjoy the sight of a brilliant night sky. I have also enjoyed the fantastic northern starry sky when I traveled with my dad and my brothers at night in the summer by freighter canoe and by snowmachine in the winter. It was rewarding to take a break out on the land when we were traveling in the freighter canoe on the great James Bay or riding along on a snowmobile over the frozen tundra. As we sipped our tea and ate mom's bannock we gazed naturally up at the diamond studded night sky.

The use of the stars for guidance has been practiced by most cultures around the world. My people the Cree of the James Bay coast have also turned to the sky for direction. In the past when my ancestors traveled the land in their nomadic way of life, the stars acted as a guide to direct them while they were on the move. Today the hunters and gatherers of my community still use the stars to guide them home when they are traveling at night. The night sky was also looked upon as a way of foretelling the future. Strange sights or lights that flashed across the sky were interpreted as signs or omens of significant events or occurrences that would take place in the future.

I don't do enough looking up at the night sky. To tell you the truth my friends and I almost canceled our trip out into the back yard to watch the Orionid meteor shower because we thought that neighbors might think we were a little weird. Thankfully, we decided that making an effort to witness this wonderful event was worth the risk of being considered a little eccentric.

Sadly, just as three o'clock was nearing, a cloudbank rolled in and nature decided to drop the curtain on our light show. It was just as well I guess, as several dogs on the block had sensed our presence in the night and had erupted into an aggravating chorus of barking. Well, there is always next year.



Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay

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Conseil Cri de la santé et des services sociaux de la Baie James

The Cree Board of Health & Social Services of James Bay is a Cree entity responsible for the administration of health and social services for all residents under its jurisdiction. This jurisdiction comprises nine Cree communities and their surrounding territories.

DIRECTOR OF CLSC COASTAL Chisasibi

The CLSC Coastal in Chisasibi supervises health and social services for five coastal communities-Whapmagoostui, Wemindji, Eastmain, Waskaganish and Chisasibi. Working under the authority of the Assistant Executive Director, Services, and with the support of the Health Coordinator, you will develop, maintain, deliver and evaluate health and social services for these five Cree Communities. Moreover, you will be in charge of the administration of human, material, financial and information resources.

Ideally, you possess a Master's degree in Administration and a Bachelor's degree in Health Sciences or Social Services along with five(5) years of pertinent experience in a CLSC, including three(3) years in management. A command of English is essential, while experience in First Nations organizations would be an asset.

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Please forward your resume by November 16th, 2001 to:

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CLASSIFIEDS

101 - Birthdays

Happy Birthday to my Godchild and nephew Jack Berry Saganash Bowen born on November 25th 1994. I love you very much and may God watch over you on your birthday and always. Love, auntie Jeanne and kisses from cuz Joshua. We would like to wish a Happy Birthday to our sister Jackie Okitigo, celebrating her 13th birthday on November 10th 2001. Coming from your two big brothers; Thomas and Reggie O.

Happy 20th Birthday to my sister Ruby Nabinacaboo. She will be celebrating her birthday on November 27th. Hope your day will be full of happiness. We love

you. From, Maggie N. Bernard A and especially your Goddaughter Jennifer Nabinacaboo.

Happy Belated Birthday to our son Willie George Nabinacaboo who had his birthday on October 14th. We love you and think about you every day. He is doing his Sec III studies at Whap.-Badabin Eeyou School. From Susan & sisters Nabinacaboo & Family. Keep your studies up.

Happy 2nd Birthday to our son Desmond Rhea Moar on October 27th. We hope that your day is as special as you are. We both love you very much! Love and kisses from mom and dad.

A Happy Birthday to our brother Desmond Moar who will be celebrating his 2nd birthday on October 27th. We are so blessed to have a brother like you in our lives. HAPPY BIRTHDAY! From your brother and sisters: Kenny, Andrea, Martina & Jennica.

Happy Belated First Birthday to our baby boy Sinclair Stewart on August 17th 2001. We're sorry we sent this greeting late! But we have to tell you we love you very much and we are proud of you for growing up so fast. Once again Happy First Birthday with much love, Mom (Hannah), Dad (Clayton) and your big bro, Nathaniel.

Happy 3rd Birthday to our oldest son Nathaniel Louttit-Stewart on September 28th 2001. Nathaniel remember this; we love you very much and we'll always be there for you and your friend Caillou (pillow buddy). You are growing up so fast and talk like an adult, we are proud of you with much love, Mom (Hannah), Dad (Clayton) and your li'l bro Sinclair.

We would like to wish a Happy Birthday to my cousin Bianca M. Fireman on November 22nd 2001. On te souhaite beaucoup d'amour et surtout ton fils Isaiah on l'embrasse ben fort jusqu'à temps qu'il pleure. Bonne Fête et Bonne Chance dans tout. Take care especially your sweet adorable son Isaiah. With love P.C.C. Quindon.

Wishing my son, Kerwin his first Birthday on October 27th 2001. (Anjabwesha!) You know chubbiesh, you've grown so fast, grandma was right when she said you would. Love you lots, from Leona in Waskaganish.

Wishing my buddies Anthon & Anthony Stephen their 1st Birthday on October 20th 2001. From your buddy Kerwin Moar in Waskaganish.

Happy Birthday to my friend Patrick Bobbush on October 26th. Hope you have a good

time on your birthday, but don't drink too much just because it falls on a Friday. From your friend Cheryl (Chris).

Happy 21st Birthday to my uncle in Eastmain, Randy Tomatuk on November 1st. Almost forgot; congratulations on your new job Post-Master. Take good care of your dog...C.O.D. Love always, your niece Faith.

To my lovely nieces in Waskaganish, Mary Lynn who will be celebrating her 4th birthday on October 12th 2001. And to Leona who will be celebrating her 12th Birthday on October 16th 2001. Hope you enjoy your birthdays and many more to come. I wish you both lots of happiness in the future. Have fun! I love you both. From Sylvia.

To our cousins Mary Lynn who will be turning 4 on October 12th 2001. Leona who will be turning 12 on October 16th 2001. Happy Birthday and many more birthdays to you both. Sending you lots of love, hugs & kisses. From your cousins Shaylynn & Shania N. in Mist.

We would like to wish a happy birthday to Terry Ottereyes on September 18. Wishing you all the best that life has to offer. We wanna tell you how we feel about you but they don't make words that good. Once again happy birthday from Renee and Elliot.

We would like to wish a happy birthday to Beatrice Whiskeychan and Keri-ann Neeposh-Blacksmith in Waswanipi both on November 23. Even though we are miles apart we still think about you everyday. Wishing you both a happiness on your birthdays and all year long. From: Terry, Renee and Elliot.

We would like to wish a Happy 2nd birthday to Elliot Blacksmith-Ottereyes who's birthday is on November 20.

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CLASSIFIEDS

Beesum Art Contest

Beesum is looking for artwork to appear on the cover of the 2002 edition of the James Bay Cree Telephone Book. Any theme is okay. The deadline for submissions is November 21. There's a \$200 prize for the chosen piece.

Send fax, email, photographs of your artwork to:
Beesum Communications, 5505 St. Laurent, Suite 3018, Montreal, Quebec, H2T 1S6
We can't promise to return any artwork.



Gilles Coté
Sales Representative



Tél: (418) 548-0821 1 (800) 830-0821
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2595, Godbout, Jonquière (Québec) G7S 5B1

Elliot, For years we've heard words can't describe your feeling we thought by now we'd find the words that could, but even though we've searched for ways to tell you, we've learned that they don't make words that good. We love you doesn't say how much we do, forever just isn't long enough to say how long we would but they don't make words that good. Once again Happy Birthday! Love, Mommy and daddy

103 - Weddings

I want to send my sincere congratulations to my sister Charlene Wapabee and her husband Dale Louttit. They celebrated their wedding on October 5th 2001 in Nemaska. My sister, you were a beautiful bride and your wedding was beautiful too. I was honored when you asked me to be your maid of honor and I can honestly say I enjoyed every minute of it throughout the day. Thank you both for asking me

and my son Abel to be part of your wedding, we both had a lot of fun. On behalf of Abel and me we wish you both all the happiness, lots of love today

and in the coming future. Take care of each other and my adorable nephew Julien. With all my love, Charlotte.

Congratulations to my cousin Dale Louttit and his beautiful wife Charlene Wapabee on October 5th 2001. Sorry I couldn't be there, it must be a beautiful & wonderful wedding. May happiness be with you and God bless you especially Julian with love, Hannah Louttit (Chis.)

Congratulations to my friend Daniel Pachano and his wife Mary Napash for getting hitched on October 5th 2001. Once again Congratulations from Clayton in Chis.

300 - Personals

I would like to say hi to Michael Etapp from Eastmain. I wish I see you again but even though you're far away, you're nowhere further than in my heart. I miss you so much more than you'll ever know. Anyways, I hope I will see you again someday. From your chick in Mistissini XOXOXO CAC

This one goes out to the prettiest girl I ever saw. She's from Waswanipi and her name is Jony Cooper. Joni you're so

hot and I hope to see you again. From someone, guy in Mistissini.

To my boyfriend Jeremy Dixon from Waswanipi. Hey it's gonna be October 21st again, the first time we met last year. I'm thankful to have a guy like you. I love you, you're truly a blessing and I'll miss you when you'll leave for the army. May God keep an eye on you. Love, Joni Cooper XOXOXO

A Happy Halloween to all of my family in Mistissini and Waswanipi. Have a safe Halloween! Love Mercedes Petawabano a.k.a Snow White



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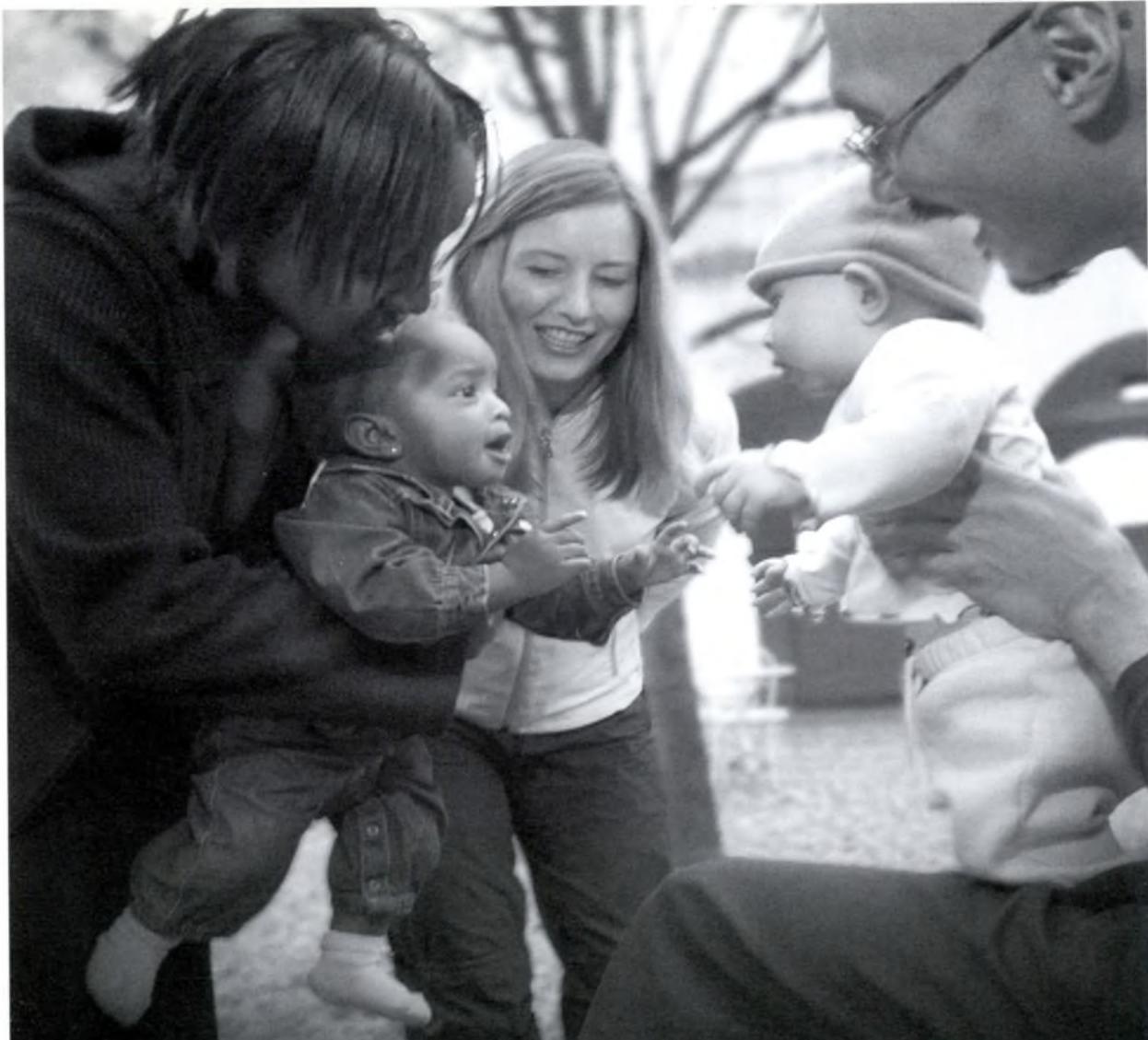
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